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ABSTRACT

This paper emphasizes preservice and inservice teacher education as key to the success of any future educational reform movements. The discussion opens with an overview of three major criticism and reform movements (Post-Progressive--First Conservative Restoration, Humanistic, and Second Conservative Restoration) and secondary movements within each from 1945 to 1980, and it offers reasons for their lack of success. Teacher education programs need to be designed to nurture adaptability, reflection, and professionalism in order to change the present culture of teaching. They need to be characterized by: (1) coursework that is intellectually demanding; (2) opportunities to develop a strong group identity and to work in a collegial setting; (3) clinical experiences that encourage risk-taking and even failure; (4) coursework and field experiences designed to foster reflection and growth from both successes and failures; (5) an emphasis on the production and consumption of research as an important part of the advancement and understanding of the education profession; (6) an emphasis on a wide variety of teaching techniques; and (7) a curriculum which encourages students to recognize and define the role of the teacher in the larger society and within their own minds. (LL)

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Title: Educational Reform Since 1945 and Its Implications for Teacher Education

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Sixty years ago, Abraham Flexner (1930) observed that the catalog of Teachers College Columbia was full of courses that were "trivial, obvious, and inconsequential" (p. 100). Ever since, teacher education programs have been seen, by many, as the cause behind the cause of the problems in America's schools. Unfortunately, we cannot discount those claims as the self-righteous rhetoric of grandstanding politicians or arrogant business leaders. Even a number of studies from within the profession have concluded that teachers are a conservative lot and do not or will not change easily (Goodlad, 1990; Jackson, 1968; Liston & Zeichner, 1991; Lortie, 1975; Ost, 1989). When the reform movements of the last fifty years are examined, one comes to the conclusion that, if teachers were not committed to and capable of instituting school reform in both theory and practice, any efforts of government, business, or educational theorists were in vain. Or, as John Goodlad (1969) observed, most innovation has been left at the classroom door. Thus, the key to the success of any future educational movement seems to lie in the pre-service and in-service education of the classroom teacher.

Teacher Education and School Reform

When developing curriculum, an attempt is made to match the methods and materials of instruction to the needs and goals of the surrounding community and clientele. When developing teachers we should do the same.

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Teacher education institutions must match the training of future teachers to the needs and nature of the schools in which they will work. One important aspect of the nature of American schools is the seemingly endless attempt at reform. Several common characteristics can be drawn from recent reform movements that can help better prepare new teachers for future waves of criticism and reform.

Of all the criticism and reform movements since World War II, none was allowed to live out its life and die a natural death. Each was cut short by new criticism which led to new reform. Thus, the rapidity of change seems to be one of the main barriers to the success of reform efforts. Ralph Tyler (1987) has suggested that six or seven years is necessary to get a reform working as intended. His estimate did not even allow for measurement of long term effects. Figure 1 shows an overview of three major criticism and reform movements since 1945 and the secondary or "mini" movements within each (Breault, 1990). Since rapid fire reform has been the pattern for at least twenty-five years -- and one could argue, was the trend before and since that time period -- it would seem that the public and professional educators have seriously underestimated this aspect of school reform.

Another characteristic of recent reform movements, and a reason for their lack of success, is what Silberman (1970) has referred to as "mindlessness". The superficial nature of educational criticism and reform can be seen in the ahistorical perspective, lack of reflection, reliance on simple objective measures, and narrowness of vision among each reforming group. Nearly every movement failed to consider the integration of ideas or creation of new assumptions. Instead, each group of critics usually

Primary	Secondary
1945 - 1960	Academic Reaction to Progressivism
Post-Progressive (First Conservative Restoration)	Post-Sputnik Reforms
	Structure of the Disciplines
1960 - 1972	Civil Rights Reforms
Humanistic	Equal Access
	Compassionate Critics
1972 - 1980	Career Education
Second Conservative Restoration	Competency-Based Education
	Back-to-Basics (Test Score Crisis)

Figure 1. Primary and Secondary Reform Movements from 1945 - 1980.

settled for nothing less than the complete reversal of current policies.

A third obstacle to the success of any reform effort involved the classroom teacher. Numerous studies have concluded that innovation seldom took hold in the front lines of education (Hargrove Blinn, 1981; Bracey, 1978; Corwin, 1968; Goodlad, 1969, 1984; Shugrue, 1968; Squire, 1966). Even if mindlessness is overcome and reform is given ample time to develop, the classroom teacher is ultimately responsible for the successful implementation

of a new curriculum or methodology.

If the teacher is the key to achieving reform in schools, the implications seem clear. Teacher education programs must train teachers that are amenable to and capable of meaningful change in the schools. For that to happen, teacher educators must address the three obstacles described above -- rapidity of change, mindlessness, and poor motivation and training of teachers. This can be accomplished if teacher training institutions develop programs that seek to create, in every teacher, three dispositions or attitudes that would help identify and overcome barriers to school reform.

The Philosophic Disposition

Teachers develop and hold what Christopher Clark (1988) called "implicit theories" about students, subject matter, their roles and responsibilities, and schooling in general. These implicit theories are made up of "...eclectic aggregations of cause-effect propositions from many sources, rules of thumb, generalizations from personal experience, beliefs, values, biases, and prejudices" (p. 6). Since a teacher's implicit theories will affect his or her perception and judgment; the existence of such theories has important implications for teacher education. It is those implicit theories with which the philosophic disposition is concerned.

Whether future teachers recognize it or not, their implicit theories often lead to a great deal of uncertainty. More accurately, the uncertainty is caused by the apparent conflict between the real world of teaching, the theory of pedagogical training, and their unrecognized implicit theories. Teacher education programs should help teachers identify the sources of their uncertainty, at least to a degree. According to Dewey (1916), some

uncertainty is necessary in developing a philosophic disposition.

> If our interests are so superficial that they do not conflict with another, the need for philosophy will not be perceived....[without philosophic response] the business of schooling tends to become a routine empirical affair. (pp. 326, 329)

More recently, Floden and Clark (1988) voiced a similar opinion.

> ...striving for certainty can lead to limiting teaching and education to those parts where certainty is easiest to obtain [rote learning, factual content]....the proper amount of uncertainty provides a tension which energizes the enthusiastic teacher. (pp. 513-514)

What then are the implications of all this for teacher education programs? How do we identify the "proper amount of uncertainty" and use it to create a philosophic disposition in future teachers? Wassermann (1987) believes that the process must begin with the implicit theories of the program itself. For a school of education to foster a philosophic disposition, it must have a clear and coherently articulated set of goals for itself. Too often, schools try to expose students to a wide variety of approaches with no commitment to any one.

After articulating its own philosophic stance and uncertainties, the program should lead its students to the same point. Although teachers will discover some uncertainties on their own, the training process should let future teachers see a greater range of uncertainties than they would discover themselves. The most important skill in any profession, according to Larocque (1988), is "the ability of the practitioners to understand the errors inherent in his professional tool" (p. 303-304).

Beyond simply identifying uncertainty, the philosophic disposition should help the teacher reconcile and grow from uncertainty. An examination of programs (Beyer, 1988; Johnston & Applefield, 1988; Howey & Zimpher, 1989; Kraft & Huss, 1988; Pasch & Pugach, 1988; Spaulding, 1988) that are making an intentional effort to nurture a philosophical approach to teaching reveals a common emphasis on four characteristics:

1) the importance of praxis -- the integration of critical reflection and engaged practice;
2) the importance of identifying one's own philosophical stance;
3) the importance of being aware of the philosophical basis of day-to-day school operations, including school finances, classroom management, curriculum decisions, and instructional techniques; and
4) the need to ensure that foundational coursework is simultaneously practical, relevant, and intellectual.[1]

To bring students to a broader, more philosophic understanding of teaching, some additional features must be considered. Clark (1988) recommends several questions that teacher education programs should address as they develop their courses. Two in particular help establish the assumptions on which all courses will be designed. The first being, "What are the preconceptions held by our students?" The second, "How should we take account of what our students know and believe as we help them prepare to be teachers?" (p. 17).

Any teacher education program that wants to foster a philosophic disposition must also emphasize, to some extent, a strong background in the educational foundations (Beyer, 1988). In order to engage in analysis and

reflection, a teacher needs to have some understanding of social, philosophical, and historical context of schooling. Spaulding (1988) made this case for the importance of foundational studies.

> Because of this schism between foundations and methods courses... graduates are turned loose in the profession without the ability to apply an informed critical perspective to the fad-like prescriptions that circulate through the schools....Many teachers (and administrators) adapt and give up these 'packages' without ever thinking about whether they fit with their own values or whether they have been addressed by educators at an earlier point in history. (pp. 4-5)

Beyond the considerations of strategies and content described above, if the curriculum is to be successful its designers must consider the environment in which the training takes place. Unless extended periods of action and reflection are provided for the students, little philosophic discourse will take place. Howey and Zimpher (1989) refer to this as providing adequate "life space" within the curriculum. In their study of exemplary teacher education programs they found that a compressed curriculum is antithetical to training inquiring and reflective teachers. Therefore, teacher educators must resist the temptation to add more courses at the expense of quality courses.

Disposition Towards Adaptability

A philosophic disposition provides future teachers with the ability to recognize the quality and nature of reform efforts and new pedagogy in their larger context. The disposition towards adaptability might be

considered the practical application of the philosophic attitude. It is this disposition that allows the teacher to not only evaluate systems of pedagogy but to reconcile them with the teacher's implicit theories and implement them effectively.

The essence and importance of adaptability in teaching is illustrated in Philip Jackson's (1986) "evolutionary" definition of teaching.

> ...there is no unequivocal definition of teaching that holds for all times and all places....Confronted with any instance of teaching we might either praise or blame, we must always ask: What are the circumstances of the case? Why were these actions undertaken? (pp. 95, 97)

One implication of Jackson's definition is that teacher education programs must give special attention to the challenge of professional decision-making under conditions of multiple and competing demands and expectations. Too often, university coursework dogmatically prescribes methods that are impractical, overly idealistic, or out-of-date. Instead, the focus should be on developing a wide repertoire of options and ways in which to use them within the traditional school system.

In developing the philosophic disposition, the job of teacher educators was largely to nurture what already exists in the future teacher. In developing the disposition towards adaptability, the course of study must first rid the students of many conceptions of teaching which they have observed over the years. Then, it must provide them with a wide variety of skills, some of which they have never experienced, and an understanding of how and when to use them. This can be accomplished through academic

coursework and, more importantly, through high-quality clinical experiences that provide experimental, risk-taking opportunities. The typical clinical experience is not a laboratory experience since the student usually conforms to the norms of the school and simply becomes a manager of the existing program. While imitating some of the strategies of a "master" teacher should not necessarily be discouraged, students should be placed where they will be allowed to explore, take chances, and even fail at times (Goodlad, 1990; Goodman, 1988; Hanna, 1986; Murray, 1986; Ross & Kyle, 1987).

Adaptability is also fostered through programs that inform novices that there is more to teaching than meets the eye -- that teaching is less a matter of knowing all the answers than a matter of making the most of the unexpected. Pedagogical courses must focus on the ability to rapidly assess a situation and draw from a number of teaching skills to meet the needs of that moment. Much of the present coursework not only ignores the importance of adaptability and spontaneity, it fosters incompetence and learned helplessness in new teachers (Clark, 1988). When we advocate practices that do not work for novices -- create your own materials, do not use basals -- we are setting them up for failure and forcing them to retreat to traditional, simplistic teaching behaviors. To foster this type of adaptability in a safe, reflective setting, teacher educators need to pursue, even more vigorously, the use of techniques as case studies and the examination of decision-making processes in expert teachers.

Since the theoretical world of university training and the world of the public schools are often quite different, even case studies and high-quality clinical experiences must include one important supplement --

the need for "learning the rules of the game." Jesse Goodman (1988) suggests, "...preparation programs need to give more attention to helping pre-service teachers learn the 'politics' of teaching....It is not enough to demonstrate alternative teaching strategies without also examining ways to implement them realistically within traditional schools" (p. 39). It is to this need for understanding and working within the professional culture of the schools that we now turn.

The Professional Disposition

Since World War II, reform has increasingly been of a "top down" nature. Teachers have been given specific guidelines or specially designed curricula by some higher authority and told to implement them effectively -- without training or sufficient time. When the materials proved to be no more successful than what was already being done, the schools and teachers have borne the blame. Teachers, too often, are asked to be skilled technicians who follow bureaucratic mandates and have their decisions made for them by textbook writers and "experts." Unfortunately, too many teachers are willing to accept that role.

Much of the current professional literature calls for the empowerment of teachers. However, unless teachers are equipped to be empowered, the current recommendations will meet with no more success than previous ones. Given the negative perceptions of pre-service teachers towards the profession and the strong socialization process into which new teachers are thrown, empowerment must begin early in the teacher education program (Ciscell, 1988; Lortie, 1975; Ost, 1989).

Based on a study of professions other than teaching, Roger Soder

(1988) identified fifteen characteristics of a profession, five of which seem to address the disposition needed by a teacher in order to deal more effectively with school reform. They are: specialization; organization of knowledge; research; continuing education; and socialization. Specialization and the organization of knowledge have been discussed in the disposition towards adaptability and are assumed to be part of any teacher education program. Let it suffice to say that, if teachers are to develop some sort of professional identity in the face of practices such as emergency and alternate certification, they will have to be convinced that there is a specialized body of knowledge that only they possess. Teacher training that consists of four years of liberal arts study and only one year or less of specialized pedagogical courses does little to enhance the perception that teachers need a specialized body of knowledge. The emphasis in teacher education must be on courses that prepare teachers, not subject matter experts. If the two go hand-in-hand, all the better. Research on teaching should be presented early in the program and remain prominent throughout. If that research is presented along with opposing views, students will become more critical consumers of research and realize that given strategies are context-specific. That knowledge will help them articulate the reasons for selecting one instructional strategy over another and defend the validity of their professional judgments when they enter the classroom (Pasch & Pugach, 1988; Ross & Kyle, 1987).

In addition to becoming more effective consumers of research, however, teachers need to become more active producers of new knowledge. Among the techniques that can help nurture this behavior are senior research

projects, action research done in the student teaching setting, and an intentional effort to identify and manipulate the teacher-controlled factors which promote or inhibit academic achievement (Hanna, 1986; Howey & Zimpher, 1989; O'Hanlon, 1988; Pasch & Pugach, 1988; Ross & Kyle, 1987). Although the methods and findings of such research will probably not be original in that they will contribute new knowledge to the field, that is not the main purpose. Rather, the objective is to help beginning teachers to analyze their teaching more effectively. The professional disposition is enhanced by encouraging future teachers to verify their instructional choices through scientific means and to see the practical value of research of others.

The profession is also enhanced when beginning teachers bring with them a desire and ability to continue their own education beyond required in-service workshops. Continuing education, according to O'Hanlon (1988), depends on the ability to become familiar with, critique, and implement the findings of research.

> Students should be encouraged to develop a questioning attitude, to consider all possible sources of information, and to develop skill in gathering data and in recognizing relationships and reorganizing previously acquired knowledge. (p. 48)

While much of the burden for providing high-quality in-service training falls on the schools and universities, teachers who have been shown the importance and practicality of research will be more than capable of continuing their own education in the absence of organized, school-wide efforts. Even with this attitude, though, beginning teachers face a significant barrier in trying to improve their own teaching -- the profession itself.

The importance of socialization into the teaching profession can not be underestimated. Perhaps it is the key to the entire dilemma of failed reform. Schools, as a body, have accepted the role given them by prevailing social attitudes; and, in turn, teachers have willingly taken on the role the schools require of them. Traditionally, neither has made much of an effort to move counter to or even slightly askew of the dominant culture. David Ost (1989) believes that the teaching profession must undergo radical change in order to break the cycle of criticism-reform-criticism-reform. He suggests that only when far-sighted administrators selectively fill positions with people who are familiar with the culture but whose personal assumptions are somewhat different from the mainstream teaching culture will the necessary change take place.

> If long-term school reform is to be attempted, it is clear that strategies and mechanisms must be developed that focus on changing the culture of teaching....Strategies should stimulate diversity rather than allow the culture to stabilize and be self-perpetuating. (pp. 174-175)

The teachers needed to bring about the cultural change will have to be strong, effective, innovative and new to the profession. Thus, teacher education programs, too, will have to step out of the mainstream culture they helped create. Beginning teachers must be encouraged and prepared to ward off the self-perpetuating qualities of the existing teaching culture, even if that means engaging in behavior that could be judged as non-professional by that culture, as long as the behavior still reflects what is known about good teaching. The reflective/ analytic ability, wide range

of teaching skills, and strong professional identity that are the products of the suggested dispositions will enable future teachers to do just that.

A number of more specific socialization strategies have also been suggested in recent studies (Danzig & Karol, 1988; Hitz & Roper, 1986; Howey & Zimpher, 1989; Kraft & Huss, 1988; Soder, 1988). Among those strategies is the idea of going through teacher education programs in student cohorts or classes, as one might do in law or medical school. This process helps create a collective identity and a stronger sense of what it means to be a member of the teaching profession. There is also the presence of a "shared ordeal" among individual members that can serve to draw them together and create a feeling of collegiality that team spirit might well carry over into their first year of teaching. Howey and Zimpher (1989) noted that, "the pride of a group in its accomplishments over time also appears related to sustaining high levels of expectation for one another" (p. 249).

Besides simply moving through a program together, which provides a kind of informal socialization, the coursework itself should provide a more deliberate and formal type of socialization. Some early fieldwork, lesson plans and research should be done in problem-solving sessions with peers and in group projects. Education coursework should also explore the definition, expectations, and role of the teacher to a greater extent than exists now. During each step of the program, students must examine and re-examine their own abilities and expectations and their commitment not only to **teaching**, but to the **teaching profession.**

Responding to Criticism and Reform

What does the pattern of recent criticism and reform imply for

educators? First, as long as large-scale attempts at reform are dictated largely by society's changing perceptions and reactionary politics, teachers must be prepared to change as often as the public's ideas of what type of education is fashionable. Teachers must be adaptable and competent in a variety of pedagogical styles. Second, if education professionals are to counteract the superficial nature of publicly-controlled and politically-mandated policy, they must be thoughtful practitioners of the requirements placed on them. They must carefully examine the quality of the curriculum and see the educational process in its larger context. Finally, if educators are to help bring about long-lasting, significant reform of the schools, they must take control of at least some of the change process. To be given that responsibility, teachers must present themselves as competent, insightful practitioners with a strong professional identity. Only then will the public be convinced that teachers are ready and worthy of taking over the reins of educational policy.

The existing culture of teaching is strong and many members of that culture fail to see the need for or lack the ability to undergo the change in the attitudes suggested above. While many practicing teachers do possess those qualities, it is not sufficient to simply hope that enough teachers will develop the proper attitudes. Rather, teacher education programs should be designed to nurture adaptability, reflection, and professionalism in new teachers and help change the present culture of teaching. Training programs that nurture those dispositions are characterized by:

1. Coursework that is intellectually demanding.
2. Opportunities to develop a strong group identity and to work in a

collegial setting.

3. Clinical experiences that encourage risk-taking and even failure, if necessary.
4. Coursework and field experiences designed to foster reflection and growth from both successes and failures.
5. An emphasis on the production and consumption of research as an important part of the advancement and understanding of the education profession.
6. An emphasis on a wide variety of teaching techniques.
7. An attitude and curriculum which encourages students to recognize and define the role of the teacher within the larger society and in their own mind.

A number of teacher-training programs already demonstrate those characteristics, but a great many do not. Even many of the major reports on education have limited themselves to recommendations dealing mostly with subject matter knowledge and increased credentials. Neither is likely to help counteract the superficial, short-lived nature of school reform movements. That will happen only when teachers undergo a profound change in the way they think about and react to the education process and themselves as part of that process.

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